

1509/925 3

THE
COMMERCIAL SYSTEM
OF IRELAND REVIEWED,
AND THE QUESTION OF
U N I O N
DISCUSSED,
IN AN ADDRESS TO THE
MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS,
and COUNTRY GENTLEMEN,
OF
IRELAND.

“ I have known merchants with the sentiments and abilities of
“ great statesmen, and I have seen persons in the rank of
“ statesmen, with the conceptions and character of ped-
“ lars. A spirit and habit of low, underhand, crooked
“ cabal and intrigue is never united with a capacity of
“ sound, generous, and manly policy.”

Edmond Burke's speech on
Mr. Fox's India bill.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JAMES MOORE, 45, COLLEGE-GREEN,

1799.



To the Merchants, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

SOLON the celebrated legislator of Athens, enacted a law for the capital punishment of every citizen who should continue neuter when great questions were agitated in that republic. He thought that declining to take a decided part on great and critical occasions, a proof of that odious indifference to the interests of the commonwealth, as could be expiated only by death—I blame the rigour of the law, tho' I confess the principle on which it was founded was just, politic and expedient. In a political controversy relating to men and measures, a well-wisher to his country may be permitted to remain silent, but when the great interests of the country are at stake, it becomes every man to speak and act with firmness and vigour.—I think it was Mr. Burke who declared, that on such occasions the law armed every man with the power of the magistrate—I consider the present as an occasion of this nature, and shall

therefore make no apology for laying before the commercial part of the nation, the reflections which it has suggested.

The consideration of the great subject of Union is fitter for a volume than a letter—I understand, that except in the metropolis there are mercantile men in Ireland who oscilate in doubt and uncertainty as to the expediency or inexpediency of the measure: I am surpris'd at it, I most sincerely regret it—I thought they had obtained their commercial privileges too slowly, and with too great difficulty not to appreciate them properly after they had acquired them; let other writers expose the impolicy of Union on principles of general expediency, and the state of human mind, &c. I propose to confine myself to the commercial part of the question alone, and to range thro' no other field than that of political œconomy—Truth is only supported by evidence, and as when this is presented we cannot withhold our assent, so when this is wanting, no power or authority can command it.

To take a luminous view of the question, it would certainly be necessary to consider it under three different heads:—1st, The moral effects of Union or its tendency on the mind, as it may sap the foundation of all human virtue, the love of country; 2dly, The political effects

effects of Union, in depriving us of the control of a resident legislature, and exposing ourselves to be governed by “an alien parliament, in an alien land, and returned by an alien people,” and in the corrupt manner in which the English parliament is notoriously returned, and 3dly, The commercial consequences of a legislative incorporation; the latter is the immediate subject of the present enquiry.

All mercantile men will agree with me, that for one politician who is really acquainted with the true principles of political œconomy, there are five hundred who assume that title without knowing any thing of the matter—they will likewise agree with me, that a regulation or restriction which may not injure one quarter of the country may extinguish another; and that to advance a nation commercially, an immediate intercourse and knowledge of the peculiar circumstances of the country is a necessary and essential preliminary.

In most cases it is certainly true, that the sharp-sighted endeavour of every man to better his own condition will overcome the ill effects of erroneous legislative institution, but I have no doubt, but as a general proposition it will be conceded to me—that in common with every country, Ireland has as strong a claim from the necessity of the case to a resident legislature,

ture, on the principle of different peculiarities of soil, situation, of wealth in one part, and great comparative poverty in another, as any country whatsoever.

Of the various arguments which have been urged against the present state of the representation of the people, I know of none stronger than that which is adduced from the unavoidable exclusion of the merchants, from a due influence in the legislature of this commercial country, under the present system of proprietorship.—If the *resident* parliament of Ireland, acquainted with the local circumstances of the country, too frequently exhibits a gross ignorance of the consequences of new imposts or regulations on certain parts of the country—I would be glad to ask, whether it is more likely, that the imperial parliament, sitting in England, and composed of a great majority of gentlemen who generally reside in England, would be more intimately conversant with all the local circumstances of the country—I am addressing myself to commercial men, and should deeply expose my own ignorance, if I thought it necessary to stop a moment to put a case, where an import or regulation which may be tolerated without any material injury to some parts of the empire, might from want of this
local

local knowledge and the proper precaution to prevent its injurious operation, carry distress, misery and bankruptcy, to other parts of the community—general rules of taxation, and general principles of political œconomy, are like general rules of health. The former may be wise in a country where there has been a diffused prosperity, and in which one part may not be wealthier than the other; the latter will have little efficacy where the human frame is assailed by partial distempers, which require some local and immediate application; I shall not dwell longer on this argument of expediency, which as I revolve it in my mind impresses me as conclusive against an Union, but I shall turn immediately to a nearer and closer examination of this important enquiry. For this purpose, I feel it my duty to lay before you in a very short and comprehensive manner, the state of Ireland, as to her commerce in the different æras of her history.

1st. The commercial situation of Ireland before 1779.

2d. The commercial situation of Ireland in 1785.

3d. The commercial situation of Ireland in 1799.

Think

Think not, Gentlemen, that I mean to detain you by laboured prolixity, or by extracts from historical writers. By this view of the commercial affairs of the country, I shall not only lay a necessary basis for argumentation, but shall simplify considerably a subject which at present may appear to several to be doubtful, difficult and obscure. Before the Restoration the Irish enjoyed every commercial advantage and benefit in common with England. From that until 1779 the system which was pursued towards Ireland was cruel and oppressive in the extreme—it presented a mixture of folly and ingratitude which nothing but the dullest obstinacy and ignorance could explain. A great, a loyal, and a brave people, were ruined, beggared, and oppressed, because Manchester, or some other manufacturing town of England were alarmed at every projected innovation—the monopolizing and rapacious spirit of the sister kingdom exercising itself upon your country in a very early state of her civilization nipped her disposition to industry, and indeed made it impossible for her to become industrious. In the very infancy of your country, and whilst your ancestors were contenting themselves with the exportation and sale of cattle, the sagacious Parliament of England passed an
act

act (1) to prohibit these exportations; they next turned their attention to the encrease of their sheep, in order to export wool—the exportation was prohibited (2) and made subject to forfeiture; they then endeavoured to employ and support themselves by salting provisions for sale—the English Parliament immediately (3) refused them admittance into England, in order to encrease the rents of their lands, though they thereby encreased the wages of their labourers; they next began a woollen manufacture, but it was no sooner established than destroyed—they prohibited the exportation (4) of manufactured woollens to any other place than England and Wales, and this prohibition alone forced twenty thousand starving manufacturers out of the kingdom; even the wool, bay yarn and woollen yarn was subject to a duty on exportation, and it was not taken off till the 3 Geo. 2. c. 3.

The navigation act (5) permitted all commodities to be imported into Ireland upon the same terms as into England, but by an act passed (6) afterwards, the exportation of any
 B goods

(1) 8 Eliz. c. 3.

(2) 13 and 14 Car. II. ch. 18.

(3) 18 Car. II. ch. 2.

(4) 10 and 11 Will. 3. ch. 10.

(5) 12 Car. II. ch. 10.

(6) 10 and 11 Will. ch. 10.

goods from Ireland into any of the Plantation was prohibited, and as if that had not sufficiently crippled the benefits given by the Navigation act, the Irish were afterwards forbid (7) to import any of the enumerated commodities (vide the act) from the Plantations into Ireland. This restriction was much enforced by subsequent acts, and the list of enumerated goods encreased, to the prohibition of every thing like a direct importation ; but as if the measure of cruelty was not complete, they likewise enacted many oppressive regulations on glass, hops, and sail-cloth, and all the other inferior branches of commerce, and crowned the whole with the daily-encreasing drain of remittances to absentees, English mortgages, Government annuitants; and other extra-commercial purposes. The provision trade was frequently prohibited, though three-fourths of the people were graziers ; and in times of war, the clandestine trade to the European powers was altogether annihilated. The linen trade which England could not, or did not, find beneficial to encourage, she most kindly permitted us to enjoy. Until 1778 she took about 1,000,000 of our linens, and Ireland was obliged to take 3,000,000 of her woollens. During this period there were historians who dared to outrage truth

truth and scourge suffering humanity with the lash of censure, by exhibiting and pourtraying the Irish character as indolent and rebellious. I vow to God, I can feel nothing but surprise at the submissive and bending spirit of our ancestors. Under such a system apparent tranquillity must have been delusive and ominous. It could only be the awful stillness which Nature felt whilst she was awaiting the discharge of a gathering tempest.

In 1778 the *sagacity* of a British Parliament began to discover that there was trade enough for every nation upon earth, if all impolitic restrictions were repealed, and that no nation, nor corporate body, nor individual, had a right to deprive another of the benefits of manufactures, trade, and commerce, and that what promoted the trade and commerce of Ireland, ultimately promoted that of Great Britain.—The first relaxation was the free importation of beef into England rendered perpetual.

2. The encouragement given to the Newfoundland cod fishery, and the South Sea whale fishery, by bounties from the British Parliament.

3. The giving leave to export woollen for clothing the troops on the Irish establishment, serving out of the kingdom.

4. The act for encouraging the culture of
B 2 tobacco

tobacco and hemp, by permitting its importation into Great Britain.

5. The permission of the export of several enumerated articles to the British sugar colonies, and the coast of Africa.

So much for the first division of this subject. I come now to the second head of enquiry, the commercial situation of Ireland from 1778 to 1785.

The concession of these natural and usurped rights were not, however, sufficient to remove the difficulties of the Irish from the restrictions laid upon their trade, nor the distresses, the consequence of these restrictions. In 1779, the several calamities of the empire made Ireland poor. The cruelty, the incapacity, and negligence of government, rendered her bold and daring. Though under different legislatures it was well said, that Great Britain and Ireland had but one congenial interest. From papers produced in the English parliament in 1779, it appeared, that the exports from England to Ireland, on an average of ten years, amounted to 2,057,000 yearly; and that the exports from Ireland to England, on a similar calculation, did not exceed 1,353,000; consequently, the balance in favor of England, during that period, exceeded 7,000,000; exclusive of which were to be considered the *im-*
menſe

menſe ſums drawn from Ireland in rents to abſentees, penſions, the emoluments of places held by Engliſhmen, expences on appeals in law and equity, as well as thoſe of buſineſs and pleaſure.

I beg the reader's attention to this ſtatement, as it will hereafter be the ſubject of obſervation. Though the exports might not at preſent be a fair mode of eſtimating the balance of trade, yet in theſe times they were an unexceptionable medium, not only of knowing the balance of trade with England, but the whole export trade of Ireland—for British AFFECTION excluded Ireland from every other market. It is not neceſſary to recur particularly to the non-importation regulations in 1779, and the force and efficacy they derived from the old volunteers, ſuffice it to ſay, that in 1779, the British miniſter was compelled—

1. To repeal thoſe laws which prohibited the exportation of Iriſh manufactures made of or mixed with wool, or wool ſlocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe.

2. To repeal ſo much of the act of 19 Geo. 2. as prohibited the importation of glaſs into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glaſs from that kingdom.

And 3. That Ireland be ſuffered to carry on a trade of export and import to and from the British colonies in America and the Weſt Indies, and the Engliſh ſettlements on the
coaſt

coast of Africa, subject to such limitations, regulations, restrictions and duties as the parliament of Ireland should impose.

Notwithstanding the repeal of these acts, the annual remittances and debts to Great Britain increased the distresses of the Irish—the subscriptions for loans were filled from Great Britain, and the estates were sold or purchased by Englishmen—leases, when they expired, were raised by absentees—the manufacturers found little demand for their work—the farmers sold their produce with difficulty—the land-holders were obliged to reduce the rents—there was no profit in the intercourse with Great Britain equal to the abominable drain of the absentees—and it was well observed, that the conveniency of the ports continued of no more use to Ireland, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon. But in 1782 the British empire was entrusted to the stupendous and masculine wisdom of Mr. Fox. I need not mention his industrious anxiety to gratify Ireland in the point of free legislation; in his short administration, every shadow of jurisdiction and supremacy was, to all intents and purposes, relinquished by the actual repeal of the 6 Geo. 1. And it is notorious to every person who has had any intimacy with Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, or
General

General Fitzpatrick, that it was the positive determination of that Cabinet, of which the present Duke of Portland was the ostensible head, to open a treaty between the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, for the purposes of arranging all the great questions involved in the future events of peace and war—foreign alliances—commercial treaties—limitation of armies—building and supporting navies—proportionable supplies—with the whole detail under each of these heads. The apostate Portland would do well to refer to his short speech in 1783, when, in the English Lords, he declared—"that he always had been, and always would be, ready to do every thing in his power to cement the connection of the independent islands on terms of mutual affection, and mutual interest:" and consistent with that declaration, keep faith and honor with Ireland. And Mr. Pitt would do well to learn wisdom from the simple effusions of a heart which spurns, with indignant detestation, and with instinctive and invincible repugnance, every system of crooked policy and pious fraud—and in whose bosom "there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, of pride, of complacential despotism, or want of feeling for the distresses of mankind"—I mean Mr. Fox. In his speech on the affairs of Ireland in 1782, he will find
a much

a much better mode presented for securing the affections of Irishmen to Great Britain, than in the wild, and visionary and futile, and treasonable attempt to incorporate the two countries, a measure which, on commercial principles, I shall shew by and by, can have no other effect than to alienate our affection, and disturb the peaceful industry of both countries, without being the smallest benefit to either. Wisdom and truth, the offspring of the sky, are immortal ; but cunning and deception, the meteors of the earth, after glittering for a moment, will vanish and disappear for ever.

“ I do assure the house, said Mr. Fox, “ that it is unjust and tyrannical to attempt to hold a country in subjection, and to govern against the will and the opinion of the people, this has always been my opinion with regard to America as to Ireland. All just government must consist in the perfect consent, good will, and opinion of the people ; it is the best and surest system of government where harmony prevails, and without it it is not government, but usurpation.”

It is, certainly, the most consistent with true policy, as well as justice, to bring about a final settlement of the dispute between Great Britain and Ireland ;—to state, and precisely to declare, not for a moment, but for ever,

ever, what is the relative situation of the two countries with respect to each other;—to take in, and conclude, all the points of difference, and establish such a system of connection, intimacy, and relation between them, as shall be immediately and permanently for the interest of both;—to be settled for ages, and not as has been the conduct of late, fear up the wound for a moment, without completing the cure. When these ministers agreed to the extension of trade to Ireland, they should have ultimately settled the claim, and fixed the situation;—they failed to do this at the proper time, and they ought to answer for it to their country—deceit is always pernicious. I do assure the house that measures will be used for accomplishing this desirable end: if it shall be necessary to enter into a treaty, commissioners may be sent from the British parliament, or from the crown, to enter upon it, and to bring the negotiation to a happy issue, by giving mutual satisfaction to both countries, and establishing a treaty which shall be sanctified by the most solemn forms of the constitution of both countries.” Admirable minister!—Excellent speech!—and worthy of being recurred to.

I have before mentioned the fruits of Mr. Fox’s liberality, and Mr. Grattan’s exertions

in the cause of Ireland. Let those who feel gratitude for the savings of honourable industry—let those who roll in their chariots in the enjoyment of improved civilization, snatch the fair, and honest, and hard-earned reputation of the latter gentleman, “ from a low, impotent, persecuting spirit, by which the slavish mind shews its devotion at the expence of its understanding.” No man in his youth took greater pains to husband against his old age, the admiration of his countrymen, and the esteem of a magnanimous sovereign, (for the happiness of a sovereign, ought ever be inseparable from the happiness of his people.) But Belisarius begged his bread through the countries which he subjected, and Cortes served as a common soldier on the coast of Africa, after he had conquered for Charles the Fifth more provinces, than his father had left him cities. *Mersus profundo pulchrior evenit.* Though traduced and vilified for supposed motives, and on the hear-say, *ex parte* evidence of a mercenary informer. “ He will remember that obloquy [as was said by an eloquent orator of a great man] is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory, that it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that calumny and abuse are essential parts

parts of triumph, and these thoughts will support a mind which only exists for honor, under the burthen of temporary reproach, and of a partial, but malign, and envenomed scurrility." I vow to God, were I raised to the unpleasant situation of a judge, whose office it was to put down the slanderer, and rebuke the rancorous hissings of envenomed partizans, I do not think that an imagination tortured to discover the severest punishments, could suggest to me one which I should conceive to be more difficult to bear against, than if it were possible, to impose on those who have no feeling for character themselves, the necessity of experiencing the agonizing, the heart-rending, the distracting sensations of a man who has given his country a name and rank in the scale of nations, and who has bent a life of the hardest toil to perfect the very constitution which it was desirous to annihilate and to destroy. But if the arts of his enemies should pour ruin on his devoted head, such a man as Mr. Grattan, will have enough to support, nay to adorn his adversity—like the temples of the immortal Gods, his ruins shall be hallowed, and every remnant of his past glory be held sacred. I ask pardon for these observations; but when we recur to great

C 2

measures,

measures, we cannot forget the characters who were conspicuous in promoting them.

The reader's wishes cannot exceed my anxiety to get over this retrospective view of our national occurrences, but I do assure him, that a knowledge of past occurrences will be a necessary shield against the canting hypocrisy, and plausible treachery of a minister, "whose proud and fullen soul is enveloped in a fastidious admiration of himself, and an austere and haughty contempt of the rest of the world; and on whom obligation has only the effect of enmity; and whose hatred is best secured by redeeming him from danger and dishonor."

Notwithstanding what had been done for the foreign commerce of Ireland, the intercourse between the two countries remained without alteration; this leads us to the second division of this enquiry—it involves two heads. 1st. the actual situation of the commerce of Ireland at the time of the proposed basis of an equitable and final adjustment between the two countries, and 2dly, the consideration of the system proposed by Mr. Pitt in 1785. Certain political characters in Ireland have made the rejection of this heaven-born minister's commercial propositions the subject of very petulant, peevish and acrimonious
censure;

censure ;—and I call on the expanded minds
 of the merchants of Ireland—I call on the im-
 proved judgment of the nation to decide on
 the liberality or illiberality of Mr. Pitt's con-
 duct in proposing, and the propriety or im-
 propriety of the conduct of the Irish parlia-
 ment in rejecting, these very celebrated, but
 little understood, propositions ; a page or two
 will exhibit them in all their unblushing de-
 pravity. The principle which Mr. Pitt as-
 sumed was, that a treaty should be concluded
 with this country, by which it should be put
 on a fair, equal and impartial footing with
 Great Britain in point of commerce, with
 respect to foreign countries and to the colo-
 nies : and as to the mutual intercourse between
 each other, that this equality should extend to
 manufactures, to importation and exportation ;
 and that Ireland, in return for this, should
 contribute a share towards the protection and
 security of the general commerce of the em-
 pire. Observe, reader, that Ireland had the fo-
 reign commerce as fully before this treaty as
 she could after it was carried into execution.
 [Vide page 13.] However, a treaty was to be per-
 fected, and to use Mr. Pitt's words—" it was
 to enrich one part of the empire without im-
 poverishing the other, while it gave strength
 and stability to both"—that like mercy, the
 favorite attribute of heaven—

“ It

"It was twice blest;
 "It blessed him that gives, and him that took."

The commercial arrangement of 1785.

ENGLAND.

EQUALITY.

To put a Ireland on a fair,
 equal footing with herself.

IRELAND.

RECIPROCITY.

To contribute to the naval
 support of the general com-
 merce.

WEST INDIES.

With respect to the West Indies, Ire-
 land was to agree to forego every market
 but that of the British plantations—to
 give up the cheapest for the dearest—to
 loose the option she possessed of being
 supplied circuitously through Great Bri-
 tain upon the low duties, if she found it
 not her advantage to apply to the di-
 rect trade for the whole of her consump-
 tion—to double her duties on rum—to
 impose not only equal port duties upon
 her exports, but to countervail every in-
 ternal duty which Great-Britain may
 impose upon any similar article of her
 own manufacture, so that if Great Bri-
 tain was to lay a duty upon the export of
 her linen to these colonies, which would
 be of little injury to her, Ireland must do
 the same, though the reverse would be
 the consequence.

Ireland having
 a free and unli-
 mited right to
 trade with the
 whole world,
 except the East
 Indies and the
 British market,

AMERICA.

Instead of a trade to that whole con-
 tinent without restriction or duty, but
 what the Irish parliament thought pro-
 per to impose, she was to admit into her
 ports no articles of similar growth, pro-
 duce, or manufacture to them of the Bri-
 tish colonies, or which were liable to be
 imported from thence, but upon terms
 that Great Britain would dictate.

was to receive
 as an equiva-
 lent for subscri-
 bing to these

AFRICA,

AFRICA.

With respect to that continent she was to be placed upon the same footing as the West Indies.

monstrous propositions—one

INDIA.

She was to abandon all hope and prospect of intercourse with those countries to the end of time, and consent that an immoveable boom should be placed from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan ; [i. e.] she was to be denied a privilege which America was thought worthy to enjoy.

all compensating privilege, and that the only commer-

CONSTITUTION.

Ireland was to enact laws without deliberation, and to decide where she had no power to dissent. Under the title of laws for the regulation of trade and navigation, or for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, Ireland was to adopt restrictions, and enforce conditions, which might cripple and embarrass the trade and navigation of Ireland, without proportionably affecting the commerce of Great Britain.

cial compensation which Ireland can derive from an Union—the great British

REVENUE.

To pay 656,000 in each year towards the support of the naval force of the empire.

market.

In this market was Ireland to receive the boasted compensation THEN ; this market is all Great Britain can offer as a compensation for an Union NOW.

There, and there only, could Ireland THEN, or can Ireland NOW, look for an equivalent for the dear and inestimable sacrifices which she must make, and the chance of that free constitution, which is the pride, the glory, and

and the happiness of man. I say it boldly—I dare any man to have the confidence to maintain for a moment, that in every other instance that Ireland would not have been THEN, and if the Union is effected, would not be NOW in an infinitely worse situation than that in which she stood in 1785, and stands in 1799, and in which she stood THEN, and stands NOW, by fair and acknowledged right: and I repeat it roundly, that an Union would really be neither more nor less, than a cruel cheat and fraud, which would put Ireland *for ever* at the feet of a *British* cabinet, and would, possibly, in some few years, strip her of all those commercial advantages, which have been doled out with so cautious and niggardly a parsimony, by depriving her of her constitution, which, though like that of England, abused, dreadfully and deplorably abused, is the guarantee of our commercial rights, so long as it is in existence. Let me ask, what is this boasted compensation? Is it any thing more than the privilege of rendering the two nations odious to each other, by an attempt at rivalry in their domestic markets; an attempt which cannot be profitable to Ireland, although it might be *mischievous* to Great Britain, and which, as I shall shew by and by, might break down the manufacturing

turing spirit of Ireland, crush and cripple the whole system of her commerce, whenever the interest, the ignorance, the prejudices, or the animosity of the trading part of the British community were disposed to do so ;—and gracious God ! has Ireland nothing to apprehend from party, from blind and narrow policy, or mercantile avarice. Shall Ireland, wretched, scorned, impoverished and distracted Ireland ; be told that AVARICE is not the characteristic of British monopolists ? Alas, the avarice of a British monopolist “ is a passion so cold and blighted, that it is in general the solitary tenant of whatever bosom it inhabits, like the great poisonous tree of Java, it is environed only by dreariness and desolation, and suffers no virtue to blossom around it.” I call on every Irishman to remember the words of Mr. Pitt, himself, in 1785, when he declared, that the two hundred thousand manufacturers who petitioned against the extension to Ireland of what they were pleased to consider commercial advantages, were influenced by the suggestions of faction, or blinded by prejudice and selfishness :—and let me ask, is not this very assertion, when coupled with the necessity of a minister’s yielding to those factious, prejudiced and selfish demands, a volume of proof, that England is not quite so liberal, so

enlightened, as to make the apprehensions of Irishmen unfounded and unreasonable? And why is it, that the English nation is anxious for an incorporate Union? [To say nothing of the importance of securing the domestic market of Ireland, and letting in that flood of taxation which now overflows her banks, and desolates her country.] Have not the people of England a moral certainty, that from the necessary superiority of numbers in the incorporate parliament, that Ireland must for ever be subordinate to Great Britain: and have they not, likewise, from the instance after the revolution, as well as from the instance of 1785, reason to presume, that though a future minister may be disposed to treat Ireland [in a manner which for 500 years she has not been accustomed to be treated] with frankness, or common honesty, yet that the voice and influence of the commercial world will prevent him from pursuing any measure which is repugnant to the views of narrow politicians, or the interested clamours of mercantile speculation.

Let no man talk to me of the guardianship of 100 Irish commoners in England, when 300 will not guard commercial interests in Ireland. Let no man tell me that the magic word of Union is to inter all our jealousies,

fies, heart-burnings, and destructive ill-will. Granted—that your countrymen are turbulent—is the best mode of reducing them to subjection, by giving them something substantial to complain of? Granted—that the British empire is endangered—is the best mode of rendering it secure, by making a powerful member of that empire indifferent to its self-preservation?

O, save it from its treacherous friends:—

It cannot fear its foes.

Why are not our past calamities made the lessons of our future instruction? Does not Holland furnish a striking instance that a country has no defence when its government does not live and move, and have its being in the bosom of its people? Let the minister commence a ROMANTIC crusade for the recovery of the French provinces which were subjected to the predecessors of the kings of England and France; they are as well calculated to be incorporated, and possibly as little adapted to endure with patience rapine and insult as the Irish nation. No; Ireland will adhere to the solemn stipulation made by the two kingdoms—"that the right claimed by Ireland to be bound, in all cases whatever, only by laws made by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland in par-

liament assembled, should never more be questioned or questionable."

If one thing is more likely than another to rekindle the sparks of freedom, it is the tricking, tyrannizing measure of an Union. If any thing can re-animate her faded form, it is the vigor which it will inspire. This conduct to Ireland is quite of a piece with the candor and sincerity which affirmed the balance of Europe to be destroyed by the seizure of Oczakow, but denied it was endangered by the subjugation of Poland, or the invasion of France.

Let me ask, what qualification can Mr. Pitt produce to the people of Ireland to entitle him to their unbounded confidence? Is it the expectation of manly and rational liberty, which can induce them to be gulled into an Union, or to listen to *any recommendation from a minister*, who has professed determinations in *favor* of THAT LIBERTY, only to recede from them; who has advanced liberal principles merely to renounce them; and whose whole life has been one continued chain of tricks, quibbles, subterfuges and contradictions? Is it his conduct to Great Britain which can animate the confidence of Irishmen—the extension of excise laws—the erection of barracks—the encrease of
of

of taxation—the determined adherence to abuses the most inveterate—and the encroachments which have been made on the liberty of the subject; betray, even in the most flattering appearances of naval victories, the seeds of ruin. The florid bloom cannot conceal the fatal malady which preys upon the vitals. But possibly the sacrifice of wealth and constitution at home, has arisen from the magnanimous relief which has been extended to foreign states, and consequently, that the people of Ireland have a very flattering preface of improved liberality in the councils of England from the extraordinary sacrifices and exertions which have been made to protect foreign states, and to impress them with a sense of order, and the advantages of *regular government*. The present state of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Sardinia, Italy, Naples, Germany and Spain, scarcely escaped from the ravages of a revolutionary army, afford no flattering prospect to the people of Ireland, and are no very persuasive arguments in favor of any material advantage from Mr. Pitt's proffered protection to their country. The Irish nation can best decide, whether Mr. Pitt's conduct in 1785, and on many subsequent occasions, has laid a reasonable foundation of encreasing liberality: he is the same man;

man, and entertains the same designs on Ireland, which he did at the æra to which I have alluded. “ It is the same animal that at first crawled about in the shape of a caterpillar, that now rises into the air, and expands his wings to the sun.”

Since 1785, some measures have been taken to equalize the Channel trade, but Great Britain still exhibits in her policy an unbending dislike, by her influence in the councils of Ireland, to give Ireland the full benefit of her domestic market; and in her heavy imposts on such manufactures as might be exported to England from Ireland, she demonstrates her narrow minded, but impotent jealousy, except in the single instance of the linen trade; and as that is the only article in which this country can, by *possibility*, be injured by Great Britain, I shall, in the subsequent part of this publication, clearly shew, that it is out of her power, under the existing connection, to injure the linen manufactory; that she must admit our linens into her ports, though it might be against her inclination, and that her withdrawing the present bounty on the exportation of Irish linens from England, though a breach of compact would be an advantage rather than an injury to this unhappy country.

On the present commercial system of Ireland

land I need merely observe, that Ireland, with the exception of a restricted trade to the east, and the British market, has, by right, a free and unlimited trade to the whole world, and so far from encouraging the people of Ireland to struggle for the British market, it is the interest of the whole country to turn from it; to attempt no race, nor rivalry with the British merchant, but to endeavour to meet him in the foreign market, when peace comes, by liberal emulation, and the generous rivalry of a magnanimous ally, and a forgiving friend.

You have now before you the whole system of your commercial affairs, from the earliest æras to the present times, systematized with precision, and delineated with candour. I hasten now to appeal to your reason, and to your integrity, on the necessary effects of an incorporate Union on the growing prosperity of your young country.

There is an argument frequently used, but which, I confess, strikes me as inconclusive—it is this:—"In the intercourse between the two countries there is no equality, no reciprocity; the English merchant is too much favored in the Irish market, therefore Ireland cannot commercially be injured by an Union." It is a strange mode of reasoning, to make the existence of an evil a justification for a still greater

greater evil. Those who support, and those who oppose an Union, alike condemn the cruel manner in which the British merchant is favored in the Irish market. But say the supporters, because we admit that this partiality to the exclusion of domestic industry is oppressive and severe; we will remove the cruelty and the oppression, by giving the English merchant the sole dominion of the market, and giving him by RIGHT, what he has now by corrupt and secret INFLUENCE—the right of bringing over his manufactures in the last stage of excellence, and carrying back such raw materials as may enable him to keep on a trade, ruinous and destructive to Ireland. I know the reply to this: How can you remedy yourself. I admit, that the most specious and plausible arguments in favor of an Union are drawn from the corrupted state of our own legislature, and the never to be forgotten system which has lately been pursued; at the same time that the generality of those who urge the argument never think proper to pourtray the notoriously corrupt and inadequate state of the English representation, and the increased influence of the crown, in the British House of Commons. Mr. Paine, in some part of his works, says, that there is a paradox in the idea of vitiated bodies

dies reforming themselves. This, I contend, must depend altogether on the coincidence of the part vitiated with the part which is to apply the remedy; for unless the defect itself necessarily precludes the possibility of applying the power of reformation, the paradox ceases, and no more involves an absurdity, than that a physician should use his own prescriptions to cure himself of a disorder. At any rate, the late rebellion has proved, that there is a powerful loyalty in Ireland—that the Nation abominates revolution, whether it is attempted by the society of United Irishmen, the British Cabinet, the Irish Parliament, or the French Directory.

Indeed, the arguments of a violent party for a Union appear to me as extravagant, as those of the moderate party are wholly unintelligible; with what consistency can those who are furiously disposed to remove the vitiated representation of Ireland justify the incorporation of one vitiated body with another; with what reason can they expect that two assemblies, being in their separate capacities too much under the influence of the crown, will on their incorporation be less under its dominion? With what shew of truth can they assert, that the incorporated Parliaments will be more inclined to act with an attentive regard to the interests of the public? If vitiated bodies

will not reform themselves in their separate capacity, what reason have we to expect an imperial reformation ; on the contrary, will not incorporation, by multiplying its difficulties, impede reformation, and will an Union have any other effect than to substitute one evil for another ; and set the hope of improvement at a more remote distance than before ?

Esteeming therefore the arguments drawn from the unreasonable protection, given to the British merchant in the Irish market, and from the depraved state of the representation of the Irish Nation in Parliament, admirable arguments for a reform, but contemptible, and absurd as in favour of an Union, I shall now proceed to consider the question on comprehensive principles of political œconomy. In this improved æra of the human mind, the merchants and country gentlemen of Ireland scarce require to be reminded, that the proportion of capital to revenue, every where regulates the proportion between industry and idleness ; that wherever capital predominates, industry prevails, wherever revenue ; idleness ; and that the two million annual remittance to Irish absentees, is to all intents and purposes the same loss to Ireland, as two millions given as revenue to England, with this difference that instead of being paid into the treasury,

fury, it is paid to a number of idle, proud prodigal individuals ; every encrease or diminution of capital, naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry, the number of productive hands, and consequently the exchangeable value of the annual produce of land and labour of the country, the real wealth and resource of its inhabitants. My first proposition is :

1st. That an Union will have an immediate tendency to diminish Capital.

2dly. That it will occasion a change of Capital, from one part of the country to another ; or from one kind of trade to another, which is very nearly as bad as a diminution.

3dly. That it will be a perpetual impediment to the encrease of Capital to the extent to which it would otherwise accumulate.

The diminution of Capital would be occasioned in two ways : first, by the encrease of absentees, 2dly, by taxation. After supporting a diminished establishment, there would be no more occasion for the money raised in Ireland, to return to Ireland, than the money sent at present to absentees, to return to the country. It is surely most likely that the great sums collected from a subjugated dependency, would be employed to the advantage of the subjectors. Very slight objections indeed will be necessary to prevent Parliamentary grants, for the improvement

provement of Ireland, when there is not an immediate feeling of regard, and an inborn sympathy in the great majority of the Imperial Parliament. Added therefore to the positive loss from encreased absentees, there is the loss resulting from taxes laid on, if not to reproduce for ourselves, possibly for our posterity. The wretched case of Scotland is often brought forward to illustrate the advantages of an Union, between Ireland and England; but I should be glad to know what Scotland would have been at this day, if England had not been a sponge to draw a given quota from that country, and if the capital which since the Union has been sent to London was employed by the industrious and vigilant Scotch, in reproducing with a profit under the direction of such men as Adam Smith, and the intelligent political œconomists of that country ?

It is pretty generally allowed, and with great shew of truth, that the metropolis and the adjacent counties would be peculiarly injured by an Union ; at the same time that it is universally admitted, that under an independent Legislature Dublin is as well calculated for a great metropolis, as any other part of the country. I am told that the North and South, Belfast and Cork, expect to raise themselves on the ruins of the metropolis :

metropolis: I hope in God, that humanity, and national feeling, and all the dear and valued qualities of mankind are not fled and banished from this country for ever: do the merchants of these cities remember the conduct of the towns Salem and Marblehead toward Boston, in the commencement of hostilities with America, and not blush and shrink into their counting-houses with horror, at the imputation of their being even inclined to owe an exaltation (which they may have by their industry, without an Union) to the heart-breaking misfortunes of Builders, Canal Companies, Bankers, and of numerous other descriptions of persons involved in the necessary downfall of one part of their country? Persons, with numerous families, educated to enjoy that competence which they have been long intitled to expect, and on the misery of the poor disbanded manufacturers of the metropolis, who will be compelled to sit amidst their weeping families, and curse their useless hands which are no longer able to procure them food, and which indignant passion will turn to massacre, to assassination, to rebellion and civil war, when an abandoned policy will not employ them in the laudable amelioration of human condition; but, thank God, that humanity, and true policy, are in general inseparable! I do implore those narrow-minded,
those

those illiberal Irishmen, not to be gulled by this imposing this delusive, this visionary and fancied advantage.—*Ne futor ultra crepidam*, may be applied with great force to a commercial individual; he cannot trade beyond his capital; he can trade with his capital as well at this hour, as he could do with an Union; the desolation of the streets of Dublin would contribute to the general misery of the country.

A great deal of the fixed capital of the country would be lost to every purpose of reproducing with a profit, and an Union would have no other effect, than to direct the present circulating capital of Ireland, to supply the loss of that, which answered as fixed capital in one quarter of the kingdom, to a similar purpose in another; and that after a desolating rebellion, when a great part of the circulating capital of the country must be taken from its present employment, to replace the stock which has been destroyed, the fields which have been laid waste, and the houses which have been consumed, Machinery, houses, and all those beautiful Improvements which we daily see around us, cannot be rolled to Belfast in a wheelbarrow, or sent to Cork in a cock-boat;—by the revulsion of capital from one part of the country to another, or from one trade to another, an
abandoned

abandoned Minister may depress, and extinguish Ireland, to the same intents and purposes, that his amiable predecessors desolated our country by blocking up its ports, by inhuman confiscations, by a barbarous penal code, and by nearly fifty years of war in the present century.

Although the inhabitants of Cork supported the Union by an hundred addresses, I have little doubt, but that the city of Cork would lose much more by the depression of her woollen trade, her cotton manufactory, her porter breweries, &c. than she would gain by a direction of national capital for the extension of her foreign commerce. Her *Lynches*, and her *Lanes*, her *Sadlers*, her *Beamishes* and *Crawfords*, *Lestlies*, &c. and these honourable men who are now supplying the home market, are surely as proper objects of her solicitude, as any Dublin merchants, who might remove to the South to put their capital into the West India trade, from the impossibility of employing it to advantage in the home market.—Great God! how powerful is the effect of delusion on the human mind! Is it possible that the merchants of Cork are so blind, so credulous, as not to see that the consequence of the depression of one part of the Kingdom, though it might occasion the exaltation

tation of another part, yet that that exaltation would augment taxation in that part; and though their fancied commercial advantages were realized, still they would only furnish the means of affording that which the depressed and impoverished part of the country could not supply—revenue to support the common cause, and all the extravagance and folly into which a British Minister might think proper to plunge the empire. Although England would make it the basis of the negociation, for the incorporate Union, never to lay a tax on Ireland, I would not, as an Irishman, accede to her very delusive proposal; once give her the power to resist and regulate the trade of Ireland, to prohibit the exportation of one article, and then to give a bounty on the exportation of another, and you will enable her to encrease the ability of British manufacturers, to bear farther taxation by the depression of our domestic market; you will enable her on some future day to draw the people of Ireland from the loom and the plough, to gratify the folly of a minister in the visionary attempt to conquer France, or to make the king of England a conspicuous character in the never ceasing wars of the continent of Europe. Let Irishmen once surrender the control over their own interests, and Great Britain may as well employ her tax-gatherers

gatherers to collect the increased profit from British manufacturers, as protect the home market of Ireland to raise revenue in Ireland—she will draw the hearts blood of young Ireland to support her in her dotage, just as well by putting the tax on the English manufacturer, as by raising it in this devoted Country.

I come now to the last head of this division of my subject, “that an Union, in the present state of the two countries,” by enabling the British merchant to undersell you in your home market, would diminish the rent of lands, and compel the country to fall back into the trades from which she was escaping, of corn and provisions*. Suppose not, that I mean to presume, that a British merchant would necessarily undersell you in your own markets; by and by I shall state my reasons for considering it most probable. Ascholar may say in the beautiful words of Tully “*Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, fordida putanda est; si magna et copiosa multa undique apportans, multisque sine vanitate inperiens, non est admodum vituperanda. Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agriculturâ melius, nihil* F *uberius,*

* It is confidently said, that all the contracts for pork for the British navy, which used to be made with Ireland, are made this year with Russia.

“uberius, nihil dulcius; nihil homine, nihil libero dignius.” Probably Mr. Pitt has a greater regard for Ireland than his own country, and an equal regard for Ireland, as Lycurgus the famous Legislator had for Sparta, when from an apprehension of the vilifying effects of a commercial system, and of its incompatibility with the disinterested sentiment of public interest, banished it from his civil constitution. But for my part, I have no desire that young Ireland should be to old England, what Sparta was to the other cities of Greece, which says Xenophon were rising into opulence by means of an extensive trade, when the people of Sparta were prohibited by law, from meliorating their condition by commercial enterprize.

It may be asked why do I suppose that Great Britain would undersell the Irish in the home market? My answer is, with the power to tax, to restrict, to regulate, and with the trade to Ireland, completely in her own power, there can be no question about the matter. The past conduct of Britain is not a flattering preffage of future liberality, and to surrender all control on the presumption that it would not be abused, is the extreme of folly.—It is more, it is national insanity. I can hardly suppose the merchants of Ireland can be duped and gulled into the expectation

pectation, that there would be no breach of faith when an Union was settled. Because an incorporate Union, if it takes, place is a daring and a scandalous violation of the most solemn legislative stipulation. It would be the height of folly to refrain from a determined opposition to a Union in the first instance ; under the idea that the evil which it might occasion, must in time find its own remedy, for surely before such remedy may take effect, the mischief may preclude the possibility of relieving ourselves, and make us the miserable victims of our rash confidence and blind security.

In the interior regulations of a state, the landed and commercial interests are frequently composed of jarring jealousies and discordant materials ; but on the question of an incorporation, there can be no disagreement—the former must sink with the latter. With regard to the value of the produce of land, and the rents at which land will let to the tenant, nothing can be more certain than *that the great consumption of every kind of produce of land is greatly increased by these many working hands and tradesmen, who live by those manufactures ; and if that source is dried up in any considerable degree, whilst the poor workman is starving for want of his usual employ, the landlord must lose his rent for want*

of the tenant finding his usual market ; and it is utterly impossible to conceive, that any improvement in the further cultivation of land, could in any shape produce such additional demand for the produce of the fruits of the earth, or such a means of paying a good price for them, as would make good the deficiency. It is idle to suppose, that commerce should flourish under a diminished home consumption of every article of life, and under the depression which man must feel at great augmented difficulty. The arguments of Smith are so conclusive on this part of the subject, that I shall quote them.

“ The capital which is employed in the home
 “ trade of consumption, is that which is most
 “ beneficially employed, and which contributes
 “ most to national opulence ; the same capital
 “ in this branch of trade multiplies in a dupli-
 “ cate ratio the powers of productive labour ;
 “ the money expended in one part of the king-
 “ dom, in collecting the raw materials of manu-
 “ facture, and which are transported to another,
 “ in order to be wrought up into marketable
 “ commodities, finds work for two different
 “ classes of people, and consequently duplicates
 “ national industry. This branch of trade is
 “ more beneficial to the country, than the di-
 “ rect foreign trade of consumption. A part of
 “ the

“ the capital employed in carrying on the latter,
 “ is necessarily expended abroad, and serves as
 “ an encouragement to foreign productive labour.
 “ The carrying trade is the least beneficial trade
 “ of the three.” I ask the Merchants of Ire-
 land, can an Union encrease the home consump-
 tion—I put the question—let them answer it.—
 I feel all the pride of power sink, and all faith
 in the wisdom of improved and cultivated minds
 melt and die away, when I hear this odious in-
 novation applauded and admired.

I am perfectly aware, that in political œcono-
 my, there are many respectable patrons of
 opinions unfriendly to the encouragement of
 manufactures; as I have no doubt, if an Union
 took place, but that the depression of the manu-
 facturing part of the Community, would leave
 Ireland no resource, but in the agricultural system,
 the provision trade, and the staple manufacture.
 I shall proceed to examine the arguments which
 most probably would be advanced in support of
 their agricultural system; requesting the reader
 to suspend for the moment, his opinion as to the
 probability of our being underfold in the home
 market by the British merchant. Of all the
 modern publications which I have read on the
 subject of political œconomy, I do not recollect
 one which has afforded me in so few pages, equal
 information

information as the report of the secretary of the treasury of the U. States of America on the subject of manufactures; presented to the House of Representatives in 1791. I should be very happy that the day was arrived, when those employed to write by the government of Ireland, would, instead of sitting down to libel, to vilify, to degrade, and to calumniate an entire nation by a wanton, scurrilous, malicious, and contemptible publication, direct their political knowledge, and whatever little literary talent they might possess (like those in under-departments of state for America) to the advancement of a nation which pays them with an unmerited prodigality. The interest of social arrangement is a trust in the hands of the existing generation; and as none but bad men would justify it in abuse—so none but traitors would barter it away for partial advantage. Something more than a canting, hypocritical, double-faced manifesto, hammered out in an English forge, and transmitted for re-publication to Ireland,—or the vapid, desultory, and plausible sophistry of an English Clerk, employed to pander for his country, will be necessary to persuade a thinking and honorable nation of the policy and advantage of a legislative incorporating Union with Great Britain. It is not the authority of
those

those who would make a mechanical knowledge of the political depravity of your countrymen, the foundation of exclusive favour, and official pre-eminence, that I should ever respect on such a question as the present; I would as soon make the screams of an Ouranoutang, the oracles of political wisdom, as disturb the social arrangements of the world, or be induced to make a market of my duty to my country the presumptuous ignorance of a man who conceals his name from the community, lest, when known, his publication might not run through an edition for want of some previous qualifications, to demonstrate to the world his competency to expand his mind to the consideration of empire. I might dread the influence of an idle farrago of absurdity on the unthinking part of the community, if it was not that the very stench of its arrogance and presumption was sufficient to repel any delicate mind, from the killing language and laboured lassitude of wading through so monstrous a medley of unnatural rights, commercial absurdities, and unconstitutional principles. I loath abuse, and abominate severity,—but if the infirmities or frailty of man can ever be pardoned for transgressing the bounds of delicacy, it is when a benevolent mind expanded by education, awed into reflection by
the

the tremendous uncertainty of human greatness, and triply purified by the scenes of horror and of pity, which we have witnessed in our country, contemplates a wretched political Charlatan, weighing in a scale of horrors, so much positive benefit against so much probable advantage, and when, with the dexterity of a conjuror, he has shifted his weights from scale to scale, declares the balance in favour of violated right, broken faith, and unfeeling rapacity.—Generous and ever enlightened merchants, magnanimous but always deluded Irishmen, do I hear your tremulous voice calling on me to palter with this anonymous writer, or to dissect and tear to pieces his industriously circulated, but incongruous rhapsody?—No, No, I do not hear it, and I shall therefore not be diverted from a liberal mode of argument to reply to it; but I shall treat it “as I would the miserable falsehoods, which an insect race of corrupt politicians would fly-blow into every weak and rotten part of your country, in vain hopes, that their maggots would take wing, and that their importunate buzzing would sound something like the voice of the nation,”—I shall pass on,—I shall despise it;—for aught I know, that very scandalous and outrageous libel on the Constitution and people of Ireland, might be the

the publication of some hackneyed scribe, who for these some ten or twelve years has been paid for endeavouring to persuade the people of Ireland, that their country was rapidly flourishing, that their Constitution was the pride and envy of the world, and that every attempt at improvement was like heightening the beauties of Paradise, or mending the air of Elysium.

The necessary consequence of the depression of the home market, I contend, would be the encouragement of foreign productive labour, the diminution of the rents of land, and the encrease of the number of our unproductive labourers. The supporters of an Union will contend, that though an Union might stop the pursuit of manufactures, yet it would direct the industry of Ireland to the improvement of the land, and that the conversion of waste into cultivated land is of much greater importance to Ireland, than manufacturing industry: they likewise urge, with great force and energy, that the incorporated Parliament will take care and secure, by proper regulations, the domestic market for Irish manufactures: to this my answer is, that I will not trust my market to an incorporated Parliament, which, in all human probability, will be composed of men, and the descendants of men, who will make the breach of all faith the gua-

rantee of their future integrity ; but that I will look boldly at the extent of the mischief, and, notwithstanding every difficulty, will endeavour to see the pernicious consequences of my folly and my temerity. “ Let the people of any other country, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of a dangerous measure only by actual grievance : I will anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the danger of the experiment : augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny even in the tainted breeze.”

Agriculture, it is said by several political œconomists, is the most beneficial and productive object of human industry, nothing it is said can afford so advantageous an employment for capital and labour, as the conversion of mountains into cultivated farms ; nothing can contribute more to the population, strength, and real riches of a country.

2dly, It is said by political œconomists, that to endeavour to accelerate the growth of manufactures, is in fact to endeavour by force and art, to transfer the natural current of industry from a more to a less beneficial channel, and that whatever has such a tendency, must necessarily be injurious ; that the sharp-sighted guidance of private interest, will infallibly find the best employment

employment, and that to leave industry to itself, is in almost every case the soundest and the simplest policy.

3dly, As immediately referable to Ireland it may be said that, as the deficiency of capital diminishes, the chance of successful competition with the manufacturers of Europe, she only injures herself by an unavailing exertion.

4thly, It may be said that an unreasonable and premature spring to certain fabrics, by great duties, prohibitions, bounties, and forced expedients, sacrifices the interest of the community to those of particular classes, and that by the misdirection of labour, a virtual monopoly is given to the persons employed on such fabrics, and an enhancement of price, the inevitable consequence of every monopoly, must be incurred at the expence of other parts of the society; and it is far preferable that these persons should be engaged in the cultivation of the earth, and that we should procure in exchange for its productions the commodities with which foreigners are able to supply us in greater perfection and upon better terms. I know no other specious arguments which can be urged by the supporters of Union, to gull the people, and reconcile them to the depression of their home-trade. It is a general theory, and as such admits numerous exceptions,

ons, and blends great error with the truth which it inculcates.

I admit that the agricultural system has intrinsically a strong, but not an exclusive, claim to pre-eminence over every other kind of industry; but I contend that it is advanced by the due encouragement of manufactures. Great writers on political economy have maintained, that agriculture is not only the most productive, but the *ONLY* productive, species of industry; their calculations and facts are disputable, and their arguments too *delusive* and *inconclusive* to require refutation.

The fact is, land is a stock or capital, and the RENT of land from the tenant is the ordinary profit of that stock; in the same manner that the *surplus* which arises out of any manufactory, after replacing its *ordinary* expences, is the *ordinary profit* of the Capital, sunk in the prosecution of that manufactory; and the only question as to the superior productiveness of agriculture or manufactures, is, whether the surplus after defraying the expences of a *given Capital* employed in the purchase and improvement of a piece of land, is greater or less than that of a *LIKE* capital employed in the prosecution of a manufactory; or whether the *whole value produced* from a given Capital employed in one way
be

be greater or less than *the whole value produced*, from an *equal capital or an equal quantity of labour* employed in the other way ; or rather perhaps, whether the business of agriculture or that of manufactures will yield the greatest product according to a *compound* ratio of the quantities of labour which are employed in the one or the other. Why then do I call on the landholders, the merchants and the manufacturers, of Ireland to rally round the standard on this occasion ? is it because that manufacturing industry is more productive than that of agriculture ? no certainly not : it is partly because that the reverse of the proposition is not ascertained : but principally because when they surrender the guardianship of their market they basely abandon the power of rendering the useful and productive labour of the nation greater than it otherwise would be. When the farmers and the manufacturers of this island furnish a certain portion of the produce of their labour to each other, each destroys a corresponding portion of the produce of the labour of the other ; or in other words, the maintenance of two Irishmen is going on, instead of one ; the state has two members instead of one, and they together consume twice the value of what is produced from the land.

Still,

Still, however, the admirers of the Union may be disposed to think, that I have not been successful in ascribing evil consequences to the change of an extensive domestic market for our manufacturing establishments, for the surplus produce of the soil. I will concede to them for the purpose of argument to the fullest extent, that the truth of the very proposition which I have been endeavouring to shew, is not satisfactorily established "that agriculture is more productive than manufacturing industry," I ask them, what under Heaven contributes most effectually to a flourishing state of agriculture—is it bounties on exportation? no—it is the multiplication of manufactories—is it the certain demand for the produce of the soil, which causes uncultivated lands to be tilled, and those which are in cultivation to be better improved, and more productive? I agree decidedly with the writer on the state of Ireland, "that it would have been much better to have given protection to the home market, than to have given so great bounty on the exportation of corn, and continued it so long. But though that writer, evidently appears to stand on the authority of a very justly celebrated œconomist, I cannot go with him, to the full length of rejecting the system of pecuniary bounties altogether; the nature of my subject

subject does not allow me to state my reasons for this difference of opinion; neither does it permit me to examine the means proper to be resorted to, to give Ireland the full benefit of her national advantages.—I do not pretend to decide, whether protecting duties, or duties on those *foreign* articles, which are *rivals* of the *domestic* ones intended to be encouraged, are preferable to prohibitions of rival articles, or duties equivalent to prohibitions; nor do I pretend to decide whether prohibitions on the *exportation* of the *materials* of manufacturers are preferable to *pecuniary bounties*. Let these questions remain with the legislature; all I contend is, that Ireland is not prepared to let the English merchant pour in his commodities into her market, and that the depression of that market will turn the manufacturers of Ireland adrift on the nation, and leave them no other resource but to hark in with the pack in the extensive factories of some great British capitalist, and thus be instrumental in converting that country (which at this day, with all its abuses, all its civil contests is delightful to the eye) into a degraded province—a barrack—or a desert.

In the system which I have unfolded in the commencement of this publication, I have developed the cause why Ireland is not prepared for this nuptial ceremony; but less prepared

pared than Scotland was at the æra of the Union, for an advantageous incorporation. I entreat the reader to recollect, that the great capital of England, the great skill of her manufacturers, the great improvement in her machinery, and the unequalled agricultural advancement of that nation, has been since the incorporation of Scotland with England: they started fairly, the system of perfect liberty, of a free exchange of the commodities which each was able to supply on the best terms, and which supported the full vigour and industry of each, permitted the faculties and energies, and capacities of the two countries to expand, and unfold themselves together; whilst from the æra of that connexion, and even before, year after year presented to the wretched inhabitants of Irish and English descent, the endless, the hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, "with appetites continually renewing for food, that was continually wasting." The security of property, and the spirit of liberty diffused through the English nation, have called forth the talents of its people: she has always been prosperous in spite of the wretched politics of her rulers; the surprising advances of chemistry, and the effects of its application to manufactures, and the wonderful combinations of chemistry and mechanism
for

for the reduction of labour, aided by great capital, and some natural peculiarities, have all tended to give her a great comparative superiority in manufactures over Ireland. Undoubtedly, she labours under tremendous financial difficulties; difficulties which, I fear, the genius of Watt, Wedgeworth and Arkwright, will scarce counteract; and which, we have awful reason to fear, may rivet the chains of despotism, or one day or another (God avert the calamity!) raise a bloody anarchy on the ruins of monarchy, as in France. But let it be remembered, that Ireland has as great a debt, and pays as many taxes as she is able to bear; and it is not very probable that an Union would diminish those taxes, so as to augment her ability to exclude the British manufactures from her home-market. England and Scotland are strong, and full-grown, and vigorous: Ireland, as yet, is young and rickety; the former can take care of themselves, the latter must be nursed, and watched, and healed with tenderness and caution. A state is frequently, not improperly, compared to an individual; a state, which has had the bounties of Providence cruelly contracted by general and indiscriminate restraints, can no more expect to be prepared to meet the influx of the improved articles of manufactures from a neighbouring country,

country, which has the full advantage of increased capital, augmented industry, and improved machinery, than an individual, who for the greater part of his life has been chained in a dungeon, can expect to vie in the race with the fleetest runner, and most frequently exercised courser in his country.

Before I abandon altogether this long, I hope not tedious, argument on the consequences of the depression of the manufacturing industry of Ireland, I must be permitted to urge what I feel to be very conclusive against the Irish acceding to such imperial policy. I will concede, for the purpose of argument, to the supporters of Union, not only that agricultural industry is most productive, but I will suppose, emissaries from the Dublin Society, or the Agricultural Society, sent down into every part of the country, and that, instead of contemplating mobs and rioters plotting conspiracy and war, every thing was changed, and that every village daily emitted its inhabitants to serve under these agricultural knight-errants in draining morasses, and giving a verdant aspect to the mountains of Mourne, the Galtees, the Bogras, and the immense tract of uncultivated waste, which the Western coast of Ireland presents to every traveller: I ask them, if an Union is to give the
national

national industry a direction to the improvement of the land, is it to be a condition of that Union, that the system of primogenitureship, and of tythes to the clergy, (the former of which makes it in some cases impossible to let lands on leases which would animate industry, and the latter, which disgusts men with agricultural exertion,) are to be instantaneously abandoned? Are the great feudal proprietors of Ireland prepared to submit to such a law, as will prevent the monopoly of landed property in the absurdly favoured first-born? Are the clergy prepared to make the sacrifice of their tythes a part of the terms of Union? I do not think that the Minister would be inclined, were these two classes of men even disposed to submit to those innovations, to conform to them; not because I esteem him very much interested in any thing which may promote the prosperity of Ireland, quite the contrary, but because I do think that he would not be desirous of establishing a precedent in Ireland, which the people of England would be disposed to imitate. Will an Union induce your great landed proprietors to return to your country, and see the folly and the cruelty of letting leases of large tracts for ever, or for a long period of years, to middle-men, instead of the equitable and mutually advantageous mode of fair agreement

ment between the landlord and immediate occupant? Will it strike at the root of an evil which has desolated your country, the idle dissipation and extravagance of your little gentlemen farmers, of whom it is well said by a very able writer on Irish affairs, (I mean Dr. Crumpe,) "that the yell of a pack of starved beagles is more pleasing to their ears than the song of the ploughman: the sight of their fellow sportsmen drenched in insensibility and whiskey, more pleasing to their eyes, than luxuriant crops and well cultivated fields; and among whom what remains of the ferocious spirit of drinking which formerly disgraced the kingdom is still to be found; and from whom principally emanate all the bad consequences of oppression, dissipation, extravagance, and pernicious example." The fair inference from this argument is, that though by an Union Ireland would be compelled to direct a direct a great portion of her industry to agriculture, in consequence of the depression of manufactures, yet that there are existing institutions which would render it impossible for the people of Ireland to have the full benefit of even their agricultural industry.

I shall not enter into the arguments against agricultural industry, arising from the comparative dearth of the freight and carriage of the surplus

plus produce, after supplying the home consumption. But I entreat the reader to expand his mind to the probable situation of Europe, when the present deplorable conflict is terminated—what market can Ireland have, supposing her to have a great surplus produce of corn—Great Britain would be her best, because her nearest market; there, it may be said, she would have every encouragement, nay, an exclusive preference. Indeed, Great Britain from superior knowledge, and a soil already reclaimed, prepared and fenced in for agricultural produce, will notwithstanding a great augmentation of manufacturing labour, be on most occasions, fully adequate to supply her manufacturing labourers; and on the particular occasions on which she may need a supply, Ireland might not be prepared to accommodate her. If the reader desires any further information on the subject, I would entreat him to refer to Mr. Young's average of the product of England and Ireland. If Great Britain during the last two centuries, whilst Flanders was desolated by superstition, and France was shackled by a barbarous despotism, had permitted Ireland to export corn, and given her the full benefit of her national advantages, instead of driving her people to despair, Ireland at this day might be in a situation to afford much greater advantage to

to England, when incorporated, and in a situation to be much less injured by incorporation than she would at this hour. But to force Ireland to abandon manufactures, when the cities of Flanders are repeopling—when persecution in the Low Countries is at an end—when the grand social principle, that unites all men of all descriptions under the shadow of an equal and impartial justice, is, though at the present dreadfully abused, making accelerated strides over the world, when Spain is throwing away the shroud of ignorance, when France has broke from the shackles of feudal tyranny, and escaped from the thraldom of monkish institutions; when Flanders has acquired, if not independence, a full liberty to avail herself of her natural advantages, and when the Northern powers have a granary even in Poland, which has been so horribly plundered and oppressed, to supply their wants,—is a cruelty so monstrous, that I declare solemnly, I want words to express an adequate indignation of the enormity of the project.

I come now to another investigation of this great subject, under three very important heads, of enquiry :

1st. Whether an unrestricted trade to the British market can, or cannot, augment the exportation of a greater quantity of those articles which we are in the habit of sending, thither or of any other articles. And under this

this head, I shall consider the argument drawn from supposed comparative cheapness of labour, and less taxes in Ireland than in England, subsequent to the Union.

2dly. Whether we have, or have not reason to expect that an Union would bring such consequential advantages to Ireland, as would put her in the possession of her natural advantages; and under this head I mean to examine the arguments which are urged with respect to emigration from England, transportation of capital, and superior situation for trade.

And 3dly. I mean to close the commercial part of this enquiry, by shewing on the authority of several of the present Cabinet Council of his Majesty, that an incorporate Union is not necessary to put Ireland in the full possession of her natural advantages, for the purpose of promoting the prosperity of England, or the security of the Empire.

1st. The principal articles of export from Ireland to England are, provisions, which are free; corn, which pays inconsiderable custom; hides, which are subject to a trifling duty; cable, cordage, sail cloth, which are free; wool, and the various kinds of yarn, which are free; and linens which are free on the importation into England, and which have from thence a bounty on the exportation; the export of these articles constitutes the principal Irish trade to the British market; and if any person throw his eye over on an account of the duties payable on some goods, the growth, produce and manufacture of Ireland, which might be exported to England, and then glance over the account of duties payable

ble on articles of the same nature imported into Ireland from England, he will see an extraordinary disparity. I admit the high duties in England, a most wanton, scandalous and ungrateful outrage ; but let me ask any export merchant in Ireland, supposing that the following articles, “ Beer, Books, Carriages, Drapery, Earthen-ware, Fustians, Glass, Haberdashery, Hats, Iron, Lead, Oil, Pictures, Silk-manufactures, Stockings, Stuffs and Woollens,” were put under the same excise, and subjected on their being landed in England to similar taxes, as articles of the same kind are in England, would he get any thing for a cargo of these articles ? he knows that he would be a bankrupt from such a traffic, he knows that the Irish merchant cannot undersell the English merchant, and therefore he cares not if the English Parliament tripled the duties on those articles. It is the peculiar good fortune of Ireland that Great Britain is as much inconvenienced by purchasing the articles we send to her market, as we are in sending them to that market ; and as to the articles on which she places her extraordinary imposts, we could not undersell her in her own market, although they were taken off. It may be said that this is mere opinion, I deny the assertion ; my information is derived partly from long habits

habits of communication with many of the greatest manufacturers in England, but principally from the testimony of the most intelligent merchants and manufacturers in England, "examined before the Lords of the Committee of Council, for the consideration of trade and the foreign plantations." Some of his Majesty's present Cabinet sat upon that Committee, and they know what it behoves every Irishman accurately to understand, *that an UNION may ruin Ireland, and cannot give her a single advantage.* On that assertion the commercial part of the question must depend, and I stake my credit with the public as a commercial writer, in proving it beyond the possibility of contradiction.

WOOLLENS.

With respect to Woollens, three manufacturers appointed from Norwich, and several export merchants of the City of London, declared, that the Irish would not be able to rival them in the home market, if care were taken that no bounties were granted in Ireland to counteract the duties that might be imposed in England. Two deputed merchants from Leeds, and four manufacturers, and merchants from Yorkshire corroborated the testimony of the other gentlemen, and declared that it was their positive opinion, that if the Irish were allowed to import into Great Britain their Woollen Cloths and Worsted Stuffs, subject to the same duties at which British Cloths and Stuffs of the like sort were imported into Ireland, they were confident that they would undersell the Irish in their market, and

that the Irish would never sell a piece of their Wool-lens in England. The Chairman of the Committee of manufacturers in Wiltshire, and an eminent clothier of the Devises, were decidedly of the same opinion.

Signed by the Principal manufacturers and merchants.

COTTONS.

Two printers deputies from Manchester declared that the art and ingenuity of the British manufacturer would secure them an advantage, in those branches of trade, and that undamped and unhackled, they would be equal, if not inferior to any manufacture in the world, and if put on equal terms with the Irish merchant they would not apprehend a competition in *either* the Irish or British market.

Signed by several manufacturers.

SILK.

If the several articles of this manufacture, imported from Ireland into England, were made subject to the like duties as are now paid upon the manufactures of the same sort exported from England to Ireland, the manufacturers declared that for several years there would be no reason to fear a competition, not even in the Irish market.

Signed by two merchants of Manchester, and three of London.

IRON AND IRON MANUFACTURES.

It being impossible to carry on any Iron manufactures with peat coal, the merchants and manufacturers of Iron dreaded no competition whatever, if the importation into both countries, of the Iron, were made subject to the same duties.

Signed by the greatest manufacturers in England.

CORN.

CORN.

It is notorious to any person who has ever conversed with the great corn-factors of London, and who has travelled lately through England, and seen the great agricultural improvement, that notwithstanding the encouragement given in late years to agriculture in Ireland, it would be the height of madness to surrender any national advantages, on the *golden dream* of securing a market for the surplus produce of the soil: it seldom happens that when there is a bad crop in one country, there is a good one in the other, or vice versa.

BREWERY.

If beer brewed in Ireland was allowed to be imported into England, subject to duties equal to the excise duties payable on such beer brewed in England, the English brewer would have nothing to fear, provided the Irish beer imported should not only pay the inland excise on beer, but a further duty proportionable to the duties paid in England on malt and hops, on both of which the duties are drawn back on exportation to Ireland.

Signed by the great Brewers.

POTTERY.

The cheapness of fuel being one of the essential circumstances towards carrying on pottery, and there being no pipe clay in Ireland, and the skill of the English manufacturers being of late so considerably encreased, it is idle to suppose, that Ireland could undersell the Byerleys or Wedgewoods in the English market.

So much for the British market. The testimony of these gentlemen will hardly be questioned in a country, like Ireland, which has
writted

writhed for a century under the lash of British jealousy. Out of the mouths of the English merchants themselves, I have now shewn the Irish nation, that they cannot be served by opening the British market to these leading articles of commerce, or to many others which it is unnecessary to mention: and as to the *idle nonsense* of a war of duties on the part of Great Britain, she would lose more than Ireland by such a warfare; if she taxed our raw materials on the importation, her resentment would be converted into an instrument of our protection. We could not be sufficiently grateful for her animosity, if duties on the importation of our raw materials were the consequence of any unreasonable and ungrateful antipathy. I know, that danger to any thing very dear to us, removes for the moment every other subject of solicitude: this is the voice of nature and of reason, and not of folly nor false pretences. I am likewise aware of the honest as well as the very affected apprehensions which are entertained at any wayward or hostile disposition on the part of Ireland to Great Britain: many are big with expressions of obligation for the favours which have already been conferred, without considering the immense debt of gratitude which is owed to Ireland by Great Britain: I am not ungrateful for any act of kindness

ness to my country, nor can I affect to say what the present situation of Ireland would have been, if a free trade, and a resident Legislature had been refused her. I do not think that Great Britain could have withheld them ; and I am satisfied, that our ancestors ought to have taken counsel only from courage, and never sheathed their swords, until they could do it with honour to themselves and advantage to their posterity. Let the advocates for Union take the whole survey of national interest, safety and honour, the full range of political œconomy, and I defy them to shew me any one instance, in which Ireland can derive any greater advantage from an incorporate Union with England, than with any other foreign state, except in the article of linens : and if the arguments I have advanced, and the authorities which I have produced, are entitled to any estimation, it is clear that the British market, for ages, can be of no advantage to Ireland, in the other branches of her infantine manufactures. O, but it may be said, submit to the Union, or Great Britain will become exasperated against you. It may likewise be said that Great Britain protects us !!—On this argument of protection, I remember the words of an elegant writer, as applied to Ireland, at the end of the American war, a period which, in
many

many respects, bore a striking resemblance to our present situation—" To protect men, is to
 " forward, and not to restrain their improve-
 " ment ;—else, what is it more than to avow to
 " them, and to the world, that you guard them
 " from others, only to make them a prey to
 " yourself; the fundamental nature of pro-
 " tection, does not belong to free, but to all
 " governments, and is as valued in Turkey as
 " Great Britain :—the military force which is
 " kept up, in order to cramp the natural fa-
 " culties of a people, and to prevent their
 " arrival to their utmost prosperity, is the in-
 " strument of their servitude, not the means of
 " protection." No nation under Heaven had
 a juster claim to the affection of another, than
 Ireland to Great Britain ; like *Prussia*, *Tuscany*,
Germany, or *Sardinia*, she has not gulled her of
 her millions, and laughed at her credulity ; like
 those of Austria and Spain, neither the govern-
 ment nor the people of wealth, power and do-
 minion in Ireland, have watched the opportu-
 nity of stealing from a hollow and insidious
 confederacy, leaving Great Britain to maintain
 a war against all the nearly united resources of
 the Continent of Europe ; nor like the Stadt-
 holder and unfortunate Kings of Sardinia and
 Naples, have they promised a resistance and
 vigour,

vigour, against the efforts of France, which it was totally out of their power to realize or accomplish. Let a Minister, too intoxicated in his naval success, too sanguine in his expectations to relieve England from its unequalled financial difficulties, by the breach of all faith, honor and integrity towards Ireland, rather than by æconomical reform in the British Government, unite the two countries by his influence, or the force which he has coquetted in Ireland ; but let not him and his supporters, in desperate defiance of Truth and Reason, and with a farrago of idle and arrogant declamation, trumpet forth the supposed consequential advantages of incorporation ; let them not, now that their own crooked policy and pious fraud have occasioned the desolation of Ireland, turn round, and as they have done before in the debates of the last session of the English Parliament, make whining lamentations on the calamities which they themselves have created, and declare the connection with Ireland to be unprofitable to England, and that she has no actual service to produce, to entitle her to the exercise of the most benevolent affection. We esteem,—we love the English nation ;—but we owe it nothing :—and if, instead of raising our supplies for the increased expences of Government

ment in our own country, our late Chancellor of the Exchequer was compelled to hold levies in Lombard-street, and open his budget in London before he opened it in the city of Dublin, it is because the influence of England in the councils of Ireland, cramped the manufacturing industry of the country, from the want of a just protection in the home market, (an evil which it is absurd to say an Union would correct) and because the unbounded liberality of Parliament to England in these last eight years, has directed the capital of the country, from reproducing with a profit, to an exterminating, and ever unprofitable conflict. To domineer over, to degrade, to injure a nation for the affections of the heart only, would be the most insolent and barbarous tyranny. As to our linens, say the advocates for an imperial incorporating Parliament, " if you dis-
 " claim the proffered kindness of England, she
 " can exclude you from the best market for
 " your staple manufacture." This miserable threat is built on the most improbable presumption, that the rejection of the Union must necessarily be the commencement of oppressive regulations towards this country ; no, the mad project of an intemperate Minister, who has almost uniformly failed in every grand measure of polity which he has projected, cannot, when
 the

the sober judgment of the nation rebukes his ungenerous and unfeeling levity, cut the cords of affection, or diminish the magnanimous regard of an honorable people. It is right that a nation should know the extent of any injury she might by possibility receive, and therefore we shall stop a moment to consider, Whether Great Britain could or could not materially hurt Ireland in any ungenerous regulation towards that manufacture, which was introduced into Ireland on the *sacred promise* from England of its being *entitled to uniform* protection, and for which the staple manufacture then in an advanced state of prosperity, was cruelly sacrificed. I admit the English market to be the best, because the nearest to the linen manufacturer.

It may be said that there is nothing to prevent the extension of the staple manufacture.—*Granted*—It cannot be extended without capital, skill, and industry; and where there is a protecting Government over such a country as Ireland, it is idle to say, that (supposing the further growth to be restricted) money and industry would not reproduce to the inhabitants of Ireland, in some other article of manufacture or trade, as well as in the linen manufacture; the linen manufacture was conceded to Ireland, when no other was allowed; and, though any restric-

tion imposed in its infancy, or when it was the sole resource of the country, might have been extremely injurious; yet it is idle to suppose, that a regulation in *one market* towards *one* branch of manufacture could materially depress a country with increasing capital, skill, and industry, when the world is her mart, and every branch of trade open to her industry.

Ireland is not the only country which supplies England with linens, and there is that infinite variety in the manufacture of linens, that Germany, Prussia, Scotland, and Ireland, can send their linens to the British market without any ground for jealousy; the fine linens of Ireland are the first in the world, and the coarse linens are not esteemed the best, and as it has been frequently said "that as the manufacture is improved to that degree of refinement that injures its quality, the excellence of the first injures the second," the Russians and the Germans export no superior kind of linens, and the Irish would have felt long before now, the inconvenience, if any inconvenience could be felt from the competition; there is a duty unquestionably on the import of *foreign* linens into the British market, but it is notorious that that duty is drawn back on the exportation of the German and Russian linens from England to
foreign

foreign markets, and that the draw back answers all the purpose of a bounty. The bounty paid on the exportation of Irish linens is confined to those of eighteen-pence per yard, and the Irish linens if stamped forfeit their bounty on exportation, although the German linens if stamped receive the draw back. Many thousand British subjects live by retailing and stamping the fine linens of Ireland, and it is not to be supposed, that their government will combine against a commodity with which they cannot be elsewhere supplied; the intent of the bounty on the exportation of Irish linens from England is nothing more nor less than to secure the carrying trade of that extensive manufacture to the British merchant, to deprive Ireland of the direct trade, and put the profits of it in the pocket of the English merchant.

Why does America give a preference to the Irish linens over those of England or Scotland, Germany or Russia? On the same principles that England does; because they answer her purpose better than those of any other country. I never will set down to humanity or love of justice what can only be ascribed to immediate self-interest.

Our fine linens must be prized whilst wealth and luxury pervade the world; and tho' the English prevented a direct exportation from Ireland, the
different

different parts of that Country would procure and purchase them in foreign markets, though they could not import them direct, nor permit an Irish vessel to enter the Thames with an Irish cargo; and the coarse linens of Ireland are better for stamping than those of other countries, the "soft spongy texture of our coarse linen makes it receive the stamp mark successfully, and its thinness fits it for women's use, and for hot climates."

When therefore we consider,

- 1st. The infinite variety of the articles of Linens.
- 2dly. The admitted superiority of the Irish fine Linens, and their general use in the higher circles, of the people of all the Nations in the World.
- 3dly. The superior fitness of the coarse linens for the stamping business.
- 4thly. The limitation of the bounty on exportation to those under eighteen-pence a yard.
- 5thly. The forfeiture of the bounty on the exportation of stamped linens.
- 6thly. The power which the country has now to turn its capital, skill and industry, to all kinds of manufactures suited to its ability, and to send them to every market.
- 7thly. The purport of the bounty being to secure the carrying trade to the British merchant.

these make it extremely clear to my mind, that we owe no obligation to England, on the score of the linen manufacture; that we have the same security in her market, as we have in the American or other markets, from the peculiar nature of our manufacture; and though the extension
of

of this manufacture were cramped, narrowed and restricted, that we have a remedy now, which we never enjoyed before to relieve ourselves from the only injury. I vow to God! I feel shame and degradation in arguing this question with sobriety; are the exports of England to Ireland of so little consequence, that she would sacrifice the advantages which she enjoys in the Irish market to spleen, malice or the depression of the staple manufacture of this country? I am aware the hackneyed objection to this mode of argument does not arise from commercial consideration, but the existing political abuses, and the power which the British minister has to move his Irish *puppets at his pleasure*, but let me ask, has he not the same power in England, look to the number of placemen and pensioners in the English Parliament, and it will account for his majorities. Recollect the petitions against the treason and sedition bills; this one solitary instance without exhausting patience will furnish innumerable reproofs on the happy expression "the control of public opinion." The Parliament of England is distant from our view, we cannot contemplate the wounds which it has received from courtly influence, the Parliament of Ireland is under our eyes, and as the wound

wound festers and gangrenes before us, we nauseate and are more disgusted at it ; but we should remember that tho' we may remove it from our sight, it yet still continues to communicate its wasting and deadly infection to the Nation. The wound is not less severe, although it comes from an unseen hand ; England cannot serve Ireland by an Union, she may extinguish her for ever. I ask the linen manufacturers, of Ireland ; with pliant majorities in an incorporate Parliament, might not the next minister attempt to repeal part of the Act of Union, as well as the present minister attempts to violate the solemn stipulation of independence ? Can they imagine that in a few years the linen manufacture will not be taxed, let them look to the state of England ; Great God ! what men, what business have escaped the keen and vigilant eye of a British financier !

When Ireland is incorporated with Great Britain, it is idle to suppose, but that the extreme pride and self-complacency of the superior will induce it on all occasions to be peculiarly watchful of its own interests ; there is no danger that England will carry its affection for West Britain too far. The fault of human nature is not of this sort ; the beautiful maxim of Tacitus is not undeserving attention,

“ *Nemo*

“ *Nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit.*”

Power in whatever hands is rarely guilty of too strict limitations on itself. It may be said, that I calculate nothing on the comparative cheapness of labour in Ireland; Mr. Pitt will not, I believe, be esteemed dangerous authority to refer to, for arguments in favour of Ireland as against England. Although I cannot promise to my reader that this *minister's memory* will enable him to recollect any of his former assertions, when the question of Union is brought before the Parliaments of both Countries; yet I entreat his attention to his words as expressed in 1785. It may be said, he was a young man at that time; I care not for his youth; I only look to the argument, and if I could not have taken it from the speech of the minister, I would have extracted it from the ministers horn book—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*.

“ It is not,” said Mr. Pitt, “ because the rudest species of labour is certainly more cheap in Ireland than in England, that the former can therefore have any advantage over the latter; certainly not. It did not depend on that sort of work which was required for the most rough and uncouth occupations of agriculture, whether a Nation was to flourish in manufacture, or not. It was a habit of industry and ingenuity, which even to effect it, he drew a distinction between the meaning of the words, *wages* and *labour*; observing, that a
man's

man's wages might be extremely low, and yet the price of his labour very dear, provided that he did but a small quantity of work. He instanced this in the example of an Englishman and an Irishman, that, perhaps the latter though receiving but five shillings a week, might really be a dearer workman to his employer than the former at eight shillings, provided the one worked harder and the other was idle. He said that besides the different degrees of the industry of the two nations, he *was well informed and sufficiently convinced*, that the rate of wages as well as of labour, was greater in Ireland than in England in any branch of manufacture which required execution and ingenuity, instancing a gentleman whom he described to be the first and principal person in the cotton business in Ireland (Major Brooke of Prosperous) who was several times in danger of losing his life because he refused to allow his workmen a greater price than they had at Manchester.

Vide, English Debates, 1785.

So much for cheapness of labour, will an Union make it cheaper?

But it may be said, that in case of an Union Ireland will enjoy some comparative exemption from taxes which would enable her to cope with a rich powerful country; granted—hear the same authority to this point.

“The smallest burthen on a poor country is to be considered when compared with those on a rich one, by no means in a proportion to their several abilities; for if one country exceeded another in wealth, population, and established commerce in a proportion of two to one, he was fully convinced that the country would be able to bear near ten times the burthens that the other would be equal to.”

William Pitt, 1785.

Is not Ireland taxed at present to the utmost of her ability? Will an Union diminish that taxation?

I come now to the second head of this part of the subject—as to the probable consequential advantages of an Union. 1st. The emigrations from England—if the foregoing arguments are conclusive, the hope of wealth or emigration is at an end—but for the purpose of argument, I will suppose labour cheaper, and taxes less in Ireland, when an Union takes place, than they can be in England. Believe me the small and contracted spirits of those Irish politicians who calculate on this advantage, little know the generous and magnanimous feelings of the great mass of the English nation. Heaven be praised, that full as history is of mortifying lessons—she contains none so humiliating to the pride of our common nature, or so discouraging to the spirit of virtuous exertion, as, that political misfortunes are beyond the reach of remedy, and baffle every effort to subdue them; you might persecute an Englishman for his political opinions out of his vicinage, and compel him to take refuge in the liberality of his great metropolis—but he will carry with him that proud and high-spirited virtue which with a magnetic influence attracts, and keeps fast hold of his moral duties

L

—and

—and if his country be doomed to destruction by the rapacity of power, or the ambitious views of a desperate enemy, I will be certain of finding him on the wreck—or perishing in the combat—I would not have any man overlook the miseries of his country, or, forgetting the general evils of the community, wear the brow of a smooth and chearful contentment, amidst the falling ruins of the commonwealth—such cold and unfeeling stoicism, can only exist, when every virtue is dead and extinct within us.

Men reluctantly quit one course of occupation and livelihood for that of another, unless invited by very apparent and proximate advantages. I must recur to my old oracle, I mean Wm. Pitt, for the most conclusive argument on this head:—

“ It is supposed, that Ireland, from her local situation, and other advantages, would be enabled to furnish the British market at a lower price than the British merchant, himself; this was an evil which he said, at this moment existed in an equal degree to that which, it was dreaded, would be the result of this arrangement; for the Irish already have the full power of importing the West India produce into England, on their own bottoms. Nay, they might freight ships with the produce of Ireland to the West Indies, and return to England, loaded with the produce of the colonies. He argued, that let the situation of Ireland be ever so much more convenient for an intercourse with the West Indies, yet, certainly, a circuitous navigation through the Irish ports to England could, by no means, be
so

so beneficial as a direct navigation to the English ports; nor could the direct navigation to England be performed to greater advantage by the Irish than the English merchant; and even if it could, the direct navigation was, at this hour, in the hands of the Irish."

WM. PITT, 1785.

I hope that this argument may be, as I am sure it ought to be, conclusive against an Union, with any wild and visionary speculatist in Cork. I think it answers all the romantic hopes, raised on the ridiculous and wretched presumption of emigration, and transportation of capital. What has been the conduct of the city of Cork, as a corporate body? Has it not made the detestation and abhorrence which have manifested themselves from one end of the nation to the other, *where the public voice dared to raise itself*, the ground-work of their approbation?—And with what shadow of consistency have they presumed to censure other men for their "SPECULATIVE INTERESTS," when they have shewn themselves in this instance, such rash, shallow, short-sighted speculators.

I come now to the third and last head of this part of my subject—namely, "*the recorded admission*" (of the Board of Trade, sitting in London—of which some of his Majesty's present Cabinet Council, were members—Earl of Liverpool, &c.) that there is an excellent mode of

putting Ireland in the full possession of her natural advantages, without injuring Great Britain, exclusive of a Legislative Incorporating Union. I call on the nation to pay more attention to the arguments, than to the authority of the Board of Trade.

“ The best plan is, that the two kingdoms lay on certain moderate duties, to be imposed on the manufactures of the other ; such as will secure a due preference in the home-market to like articles of its own growth and manufacture ; and yet leave to the sister kingdom, advantages though not equal to its own, yet superior to those granted to any foreign country ; the duties payable on British goods, imported into Ireland, seem by their moderation, as well adapted to answer the purpose, as any that could be devised ; but to make this system complete, there should be added proper regulations with respect to bounties in future—and with respect to the duties on raw materials imported into each kingdom.”

“ It is, in the judgment of the committee, a great recommendation of this plan, that if it should be carried into execution, and become the system in which both countries shall be bound hereafter to conform—it will secure them in future from the unpleasant contests, to which, in pursuit of their respective interests, they

they may be otherwise exposed ; and his Majesty, as sovereign of the two kingdoms, will be relieved from the disagreeable situation of having laws presented to him by the respective Houses of Parliament, for his assent, which, though beneficial to one of his kingdoms, may, in their opinion, be highly detrimental to the interest of the other."

From this report, I contend that I have the authority of " the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations"—that guardian legislatures acting on principles of reciprocity, is the only system which can answer the purposes of a fair and honorable connexion between the two kingdoms ; either Mr. Pitt and the British Cabinet, mean to act an honest, or a treacherous part, to Ireland—if the former, the system ~~that~~ I have now laid before the public, is the one that should be pursued—and the very abandonment of that system, must be a STRONG PRESUMPTIVE proof, of a narrow, shuffling, and a treacherous intention.

In opposition to this, it may immediately be said, that **all** and every thing of this kind, will be adjusted in the negociation, and that the growing commerce will be carefully protected, by an Incorporate Legislature. Every thing
calculated

calculated to advance Ireland, can be effected thro' the medium of her own Legislature—let me ask, what would the merchants and manufacturers of London, of Bristol, or of Norwich, think, if they were told, that on every occasion, on which they were desirous of suggesting a great commercial improvement to government, or to propose some alteration in a projected innovation, it would be necessary for them to dance to Dublin? and what hope can any Irishman, who has felt, and who knows, the jealousies, the heart-burnings, and destructive ill-will, of the mercantile interest of Great Britain, expect from any application to this Incorporated Legislature? I shall not mention the numbers of persons, who must, in every session, proceed (tho' a rump aristocracy were to remain in Dublin) on public business to the seat of Government—and the delays and expences which those journeys must necessarily occasion. When the business of Ireland is accumulated on that of England, is the Irish merchant, manufacturer, or country-gentleman, to expect greater expedition? And what feelings must they entertain, when they are mumbling their fingers, in a confined lodging, whistling and gaping thro' Bond-street, and Piccadily, and squandering at the CANON, or Spring-gardens, or the box lobbies
of

of Drury-lane, and Covent-garden, the money which ought to be spent in the metropolis of their country, and which, as collected from the various parts of Ireland, would, if spent there, flow back in innumerable conduits to the parts of the country from which it had been originally taken.

The last, tho' not least, argument, which I offer to the industrious part of the Irish nation, against an Incorporate Union, arises from the well-grounded apprehension of augmented taxation—*principiis obsta* is an admirable maxim against dangerous political innovations, as well as vicious or immoral actions. The friends of Mr. Pitt, in all their encomiums, have never, that I have heard or seen, given him credit, for GENIUS, or ORIGINAL conception.—A correct and studied phraseology—a luminous and lucid arrangement of his subject—a sonorous and masculine delivery, and an insuperable share of obstinacy and self-sufficiency, which his friends call firmness and political consistency, are acquirements which have as a DEBATER, raised him very high in the opinion of a great majority of the British Parliament—a majority, certainly not without several other inducements, for giving an unbounded confidence to this most arrogant minister. None of the pamphlets for or against an Union,
which

which I have seen, have recurred to the author from whom it is most likely that Mr. Pitt has taken his idea of incorporating the two countries—and whose arguments will most probably be bandied about on the discussion of the question—the author to whom I allude, is the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith ;—when the reader recollects that “ The Wealth of Nations ” was written and printed in 1779, before Ireland got any benefits in commerce or constitution, he will observe that subsequent events have materially changed the complexion of affairs in Ireland, and diminished the force of the arguments which Dr. Smith advanced in favor of a Legislative Incorporation.

After stating that the LAND Tax—the STAMP Duties—and the different Duties of CUSTOMS and EXCISE, constitute the four principal branches of the British Taxes—the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, goes on to say—“ that it is not contrary to justice that both Ireland and America should contribute towards the discharge of the public debt of Great Britain. That debt was contracted in support of the Government, to which the Protestants of Ireland owe not only the whole authority which they enjoy in their own country, but every security which they possess for their liberty, their property, and their religion, a Government, to which several of the colonists of America owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution, and to which all the colonies of America owe the liberty, security, and property, which they have ever since enjoyed ”

America spurned the pious remonstrance of the celebrated œconomist—who must have known very little of the history of Ireland—

or else, so far from concluding that till 1775, Ireland was under obligations to England—he would have seen the reverse of the proposition was the most consistent with truth—and that England, having *ground down this wretched country to an unequalled state of national humiliation and political debasement*, ought rather confer freedom, than impose servitude. I should be glad to know the war, since the revolution, in which Great Britain was plunged for the defence of Ireland.—In the American war, Ireland protected herself; and tho' the presence of the English troops in the late contest, might have prevented a greater effusion of blood than otherwise might have happened—yet I am confident that the British empire, would, at this hour, have been at the feet of an all-grasping Directory, if it was not for the unparalleled exertions of the Yeomanry Corps and Militia of the country.

Instead of going through all the arguments of Dr. Adam Smith, I shall contrast his opinion with that of a great statesman and a great political œconomist, on the subject of an incorporate Union.

UNION.

UNION.

Dr. ADAM SMITH.

“ By a Union with Great Britain, Ireland would gain, besides the freedom of trade, other advantages much more important, and which would much more than compensate any increase of taxes, that might accompany that Union. By the Union with England, the middling and inferior ranks of people in Scotland, gained a complete deliverance from the power of an aristocracy, which had always before oppressed them. By an Union with Great Britain, the greater part of the people of all ranks in Ireland, would gain an equally complete deliverance from a much more oppressive aristocracy. An aristocracy not founded like that of Scotland, in the natural and respectable distinctions of birth and fortune, but in the most odious of all distinctions, those of religious and political prejudices; distinctions, which more than any other, animate the insolence of the oppressors, and the hatred and indignation of the oppressed, and which commonly render the inhabitants of the same country more hostile to one another, than separate states ever are. Without an Union with Great Britain, the people of Ireland are not likely for many ages to consider themselves as one people.”

NO UNION.

Mr. GRATTAN.

“ The Government of a country may be placed in the hands of one man, and that one man may reside in another kingdom, and yet the people may be free and satisfied; but to have the Legislature of the country, or what is the same thing, the influencing and directing spirit of the Legislature placed out of the country, to have not only the King but the Legislature an absentee—to have not only the head but the heart disposed of in another country—Such a condition may be a disguised, but it is unqualified and perfect despotism. Self-Legislation is life, and has been fought for, as for being. It was that principle that called forth resistance to the House of Stuart, and baptized with royalty the House of Hanover, when the people stood sponsors for their allegiance to the liberty of the subjects; for Kings are but satellites, and your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies.”

I cannot

I cannot pretend to say, what effect the riots in 1780, the conflagrations at Birmingham, the conduct of the minister in refusing to accede to the motion for repealing the test and corporation acts, and the present persecution of the dissenters in the country parts of England would make on the opinions of the very learned œconomist. But what might have been the state of Ireland in 1775? BAD, UNDOUBTEDLY, it was. The laws for the preservation of property, and the protection of the lower orders of the community, against the oppression and cruelty, of the wealthy, are, *at this day*, the same in Ireland as in England, though suspended in a moment of convulsion, and *at a moment when the palladium of British liberty is itself, suspended*;—and when principles of toleration are disclaimed as impolitic and inexpedient in the British parliament, and persecution distracts the country villages. I cannot, in the magic of the word Union, discover the necessary oblivion of all those religious dissensions; besides, that man must have lived to little purpose in the world, who cannot perceive that one part of a community [the lower orders] may be as much, if not more, persecuted by the other part, [the higher and titled orders] for political opinions, as well as religious tenets;

nets ; and that in case of an Union, the evil might exist under the title of loyalist and republican, as well as catholic and protestant ; and be as productive of equal danger to the empire, and misery to this unhapy country. I therefore cannot agree with Dr. Smith, that an Union will restore concord and unanimity to Ireland. It will diminish the affections which the loyal and peaceable persons of all religious persuasions, have for England, by giving them a just cause for indignation and complaint, and will thus confound the supporters of French principles, and the friends of limited monarchy under one general head—the enemies of general peace, social order, and religion ; and in the unfortunate event of future disturbances, make them both a common object of resentment to an exasperated and indiscriminating soldiery ; and of all the scandalous outrages which can be offered to human nature, I cannot help thinking, but that the attempt to make the virtues of the loyal part of the community the means of deceiving them into a measure fatal to their individual and collective happiness, is the greatest which can be committed. Let those who repose in the sanctuary of the grave, as they have ceased to injure, be spared from our reproach :—but I ask the judge who has presided, and the jury

jury that brought in the verdict of guilty on some of the leaders of the conspiracy, why did the latter hand over these unhappy men to the executioner? Was it not because they embattled themselves against the constitution of their country? Why, again, did the best men in the community, in the late rebellion, plunge their swords into the bosom of their neighbours, possibly once their friends? Was it not because the justice of their cause reconciled the melancholy necessity of the action, and as they were prepared to risk their own lives in defence of their endangered constitution, so their conscience, unclouded by fear or guilt, told them that they were warranted to take away the lives of those who would annihilate it for ever? This was the feeling which beat home to the human heart, and satisfied the gallant foldier, that no accusing angel would be permitted to record his actions, as subjects of condemnation in the awful registry of heaven. And gracious God! must I flatter the living, whilst I arraign the memory of the dead. *O superbiam inauditam alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunitè licere.* Let the sophist, or the courtier, reprobate and deride every principle of morality; but if an incorporate Union, amounting, as I contend it does, to the annihilation of the identical constitution

stitution—let the honest judge, the upright juror, and the magnanimous foldier, decypher this extraordinary conduct, for I confess that I have not a mind gifted with that instinctive subtlety which can reconcile such glaring and palpable inconsistency.

Other writers have, in glowing and animated language, argued against an Union, on the violation of all the fundamental principles of government, original rights of mankind, and on constitutional principles;—they have likewise exposed the folly, and the absurdity of the arguments drawn from the present disturbed and distracted state of the country; and the heart-rending jealousies between persons of different religious persuasions. I could wish that the limits of a publication of this nature would permit me not only to offer some arguments on these subjects, but to extract from the report of the “ Society of the Friends of the People in London,” the state of that British representation, to which a few Irish members are now to be attached. I would willingly argue on the danger of attempting any innovation hostile to the opinions of the Irish nation, in the present distracted state of the world, and of the human mind—but I will keep my word—I will range through no other field than political œconomy.

I have

I have now nearly compleated the argument in which I have engaged, and it contributes much to my satisfaction, that the great leading principles contained in this little tract, have been recognized as land-marks in political œconomy, in a very praise-worthy address to the electors of Louth. My opinion of an Union is simply this:—that it is nothing *more nor less than a compact giving England through Irish absentees, three millions of that money which ought to be converted into capital in Ireland, and surrendering the commerce, the constitution, the manufactures, and the power of taxing Ireland up to England, for no one possible recompense, nor compensation, whatsoever.* I have heard from good authority, that the question asked by the British minister to every Irish commoner, and member of parliament, with whom he had an interview, was simply this:—Has not Ireland flourished by her connection with England astonishingly in these last ten years, and must she not flourish by an identity of interest?" I answer that plausible minister—that it is true, she has flourished in SPITE of British influence; but that it is likewise true, that she would have flourished two-fold, if that influence had been removed, and the country was placed on an honorable, independent footing, allied by interest, and governed

verned by a common king. The gentlemen of landed property, it is said, tremble for their estates. Can they be secured by holding them by West India tenure? Will not the people of Ireland have more lamentable cause for complaint when an Union takes place, than before it was adjusted? I call on the gentlemen of landed property to expand their minds to the inevitable effects and ill consequences of an Union. In the former part of this publication I stated, that though Ireland was destroyed, yet that England might gain nothing by an Union. Let any man calculate on the expence of a West India island to England. Will any man say, that a treaty of alliance with St. Domingo was not far more advantageous to Great Britain than being incorporated with England, or governed by the gallant MAITLAND, and the flower of the British army.

I say it confidently, that the opinion of English patriots, as well as that of the œconomists of Ireland, is hostile to the measure; and in a question of empire, what man will put the gigantic talents of Mr. Fox, against those of the DELIVERER of Europe? In a question which respects the trade and manufactures of Ireland, who will put the opinion of the SPEAKER against that of all the men in the cabinet

cabinet of this country? And gracious God! if the manufactures of Ireland are depressed, where will thousands, and tens of thousands, now in your militia and army, find employment on the return of peace? My heart bleeds, and my spirits sink, when I venture to look forward to the consequence of this FATAL MEASURE.

I have now stated the whole Commercial System of Ireland, from the earliest æra to the present time; I have shewn, that tho' there is a cruel and severe partiality to the English merchant, in the Irish market, that that, however, is no ground for giving an opportunity for still greater oppression; I have shewn the necessary depression of the home-market, by the diminution of our capital—by the change of capital from one species of productive industry to another—and likewise the impediment to a future encrease of capital, to the extent it would otherwise accumulate without an Union; I have endeavoured to shew the disadvantage of directing the greatest share of the capital of the country, from manufactures to agriculture, which I have contended must happen, when the home-market is thrown open to the English merchant; I have also attempted to expose the absurdity of building gigantic expectations on the British market, and the fatal conse-

quences of augmented taxation.—When Republics and Republicans are described as violating every principle of moral rectitude, it behoves Kings, and the Representatives of Kings, to secure the admiration of the world by magnanimity and moderation. Indeed, in the mere attempt to incorporate the two nations, on the presumption of the people of Ireland hailing, with promptitude, any change from their political contests, and religious dissensions, exhibits the British minister as ignorant of human nature, and the necessary consequences of a civil war, as of the actual state of Ireland, and of the Irish character. Enthusiasm, though it may desolate a country, is, from its violence, of short duration. As Mr. Hume has finely observed—“ its fury is like that of thunder and tempest, which exhaust themselves in a little time, and leave the air more calm and serene than before.” In the late rebellion, the different supporters of the Orange and Green were equally enthusiastic; their frantic schemes; their inveterate suspicions; their implacability towards their enemies—I might proceed to heighten the picture of the disease under which these parties laboured—but I think without inflaming the passions, or harrowing up resentment, that every reflecting man must recognize, in the deplorable
 extent

extent of religious animosity, the true and exact features of short-lived enthusiasm, operating on minds depraved by superstition the most unworthy and intolerant. And I defy any man to point out, in the luminous pages of GIBBON, VOLTAIRE, ROBINSON, and HUME, a single instance where a Civil War has not had the effect of giving a country a more determined aspect, and a more dreaded character—look at Rome under Marius—Sylla—Pompey—Cæsar—Antony—Augustus—and look likewise at modern France—and the scholar, the statesman, and the philosopher, will see the force and weight of this observation.—Whether Mr. Pitt calculated on the depression of Ireland by an Union, on account of the heart-rending religious dissensions amongst its inhabitants—or the weakness of the country after a desperate and deplorable conflict; he shewed himself as ignorant of human nature, as of the history of all times and countries.

I now conclude the observations I have offered with a very beautiful and apposite quotation from Mr. Burke's celebrated speech on the conciliation with America—a quotation which ought to be well weighed, and frequently considered, by those who have insisted, and are determined to push the question of Union in the country. I substitute the word Ireland for America.

Ireland

"Ireland is a noble object—it is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Men in this respect will be led to their choice of means, by their complexions and their habits. Those who understand the military art, will of course have some predilection for it—those who wield the thunder of the state, may have confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for the want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favor of prudent management, than of force, or undue influence. Considering force, or the confidence in force, tho' it never should be exercised, not as an odious, but a feeble instrument, for preserving a people so numerous—so active—so growing—so spirited—as this, in a profitable and subordinate connection with England.

First.—Because the use of force is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment—but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again—and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered.

My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force—and an armament is not a victory ;—if you do not succeed, you are without resource—for conciliation failing, force remains—but force failing, no further hope of conciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness—but they can never be begged as alms, by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to any thing but magnanimous polity, is, you impair the object by the very endeavours to preserve. Nothing less will content me, than whole Ireland. I do not chuse to consume its strength with that of England, because in all parts it is British strength that is consumed. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict—and still less, in the midst of it. I may escape—but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add, I do not choose wholly to break the Irish spirit, because it is that spirit which has made the country."

It is unnecessary to urge Mr. Burke's further arguments in favor of moderation, on the score of the temper and character of Irishmen,
and

and their jealous affection for manly and rational liberty. A friend to the Legislative Independence of Ireland, and British Connexion, in the honest sincerity of my soul, and with an unbounded regard for the peace and happiness of the empire, I shall conjure those, to whose hands power is delegated, and in whose hands the sacred trust of advancing the prosperity of this country, is now reposed, to remember the beautiful death-bed admonition of Mecipsa to Jugurtha, when he was raising him to a share in the sovereignty of Numidia :—*Non exercitus neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum amici ; quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas ; officio et fide pariuntur.*

I have argued this GREAT question without the false glare of eloquence ; with temper, with simplicity, but with firmness, and on the presumption of an Union, when once effected, being permanent. But my opinion is, that it will separate the two nations, now bound together by the cords of interest and affection ; not perhaps this year, nor possibly the next—but that it WILL separate the two nations. I read separation in the feelings of public mind, in the unsmothered sentiment of injury in this country ; in the accumulating distresses of both ; in the depression of commercial exertions ; in the total annihilation of self legislation ; and in the
reflective

reflective mirror of the European world. Consider what has been said ; and may God of his infinite mercy give you sense, honesty, and spirit, to make such constitutional exertions as will prevent the scenes of the last two centuries being repeated in the next ; as will prevent rebellions which will distract the peace of your country, of cruel permutations of property, which will impede its prosperity, and of a revolution which POSSIBLY may throw your country and your children into the arms of France, but which will certainly separate the two countries for ever.



FINIS.

reflective mirror of the European world. Consider what has been said; and may God of his infinite mercy give you sense, honesty, and spirit, to make such constitutional exertions as will prevent the scenes of the last two centuries being repeated in the next, as will prevent rebellions which will disturb the peace of your country, of civil perturbations of property, which will impede its prosperity, and of a revolution which would throw you out of your country and your rights into the arms of France, but which will certainly separate the two countries for ever.